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ABSTRACT

After a prolonged period of unplanned expansion and administrative neglect, Kingston is now suffering the social and physical consequences of unattended urbanization. Increasingly Kingston's problems in coping with its rapid urban growth are a deterrent to Jamaica's social and economic advancement, and this calls for greater efforts in organization, research, and training. It suggests that urbanization and its concomitant problems need major attention; this in turn may indicate that an urban planning organization with comprehensive authority for metropolitan and regional planning and development might well be established. It also suggests that research and training capabilities at the University of the West Indies need to be further strengthened to effectively collaborate with the recommended metropolitan planning agency and with existing organizations such as the Urban Development Corporation. In addition, internships with Jamaican urban planning agencies might be provided through new fellowship schemes for recent university graduates before and after degree training aborad. Topics discussed in this paper are: (1) urbanization of Jamaica, (2) urbanization of Kingston, (3) urban conditions in Kingston, (4) urban planning in Jamaica, (5) problems of implementation, and (6) urban research and training needs. [For related documents in this series, see UD 013 732-013 744 for surveys of specific countries. For special studies analyzing urbanization in the Third World, see UD 013 745-UD 013 748.] (Author/SB)

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An International
Urbanization Survey Report
to the Ford Foundation

Urbanization in Jamaica

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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This working paper was prepared as supportive material for an International Survey of Urbanization in the developing countries, which was organized by the Ford Foundation late in 1970 and was completed late in 1972. The purpose of the Survey was to provide findings and recommendations to guide the Foundation in making informed judgments on its future participation in programs related to the urban condition in the less-developed countries.

The Survey was directed neither to perform nor to commission original research. Its work was to be reportorial, analytic, and indicative of program choices. To serve these objectives, the Survey was essentially a field operation in which the staff travelled widely in the countries where the Foundation maintains field offices and drew not only upon its own observations but upon the experience of Foundation personnel assigned to the developing countries. The staff's own field notes on phases of urbanization in specific countries were expanded into working papers both to record observations and to clarify the deductive processes and the analyses of data which were to form a demonstrable basis for the Survey's conclusions. Additional working papers were provided by Foundation personnel with a depth of field knowledge, and by consultants expert either in specific countries or in topics of special interest.

The Survey working papers and special studies were originally intended only for internal use. It became evident, however, that the body of material had values which argued for wider exposure. Accordingly, the Foundation is publishing the papers for those with special country or topical interests and for those interested in the material as a whole.

The working papers carry disclaimers appropriate to the circumstances of their preparation and to the limitations of their original purpose. The reader should not expect to find in them either the product of original research or a comprehensive treatment of the processes of urbanization in the particular country. Rather, they are occasional papers whose unity derives from their use as exemplary and illustrative material for the Survey.

But unity of form and substance is not the measure of their value. Each report and special study is an essay on some aspect of urbanization in the developing countries. In most instances, they are what a good essay should be—unmistakably personalized and therefore reflective of the insights and the convictions of informed authors.

The International Urbanization Survey

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ED 079450

Urbanization in Jamaica

by

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International Urbanization Survey

The Ford Foundation

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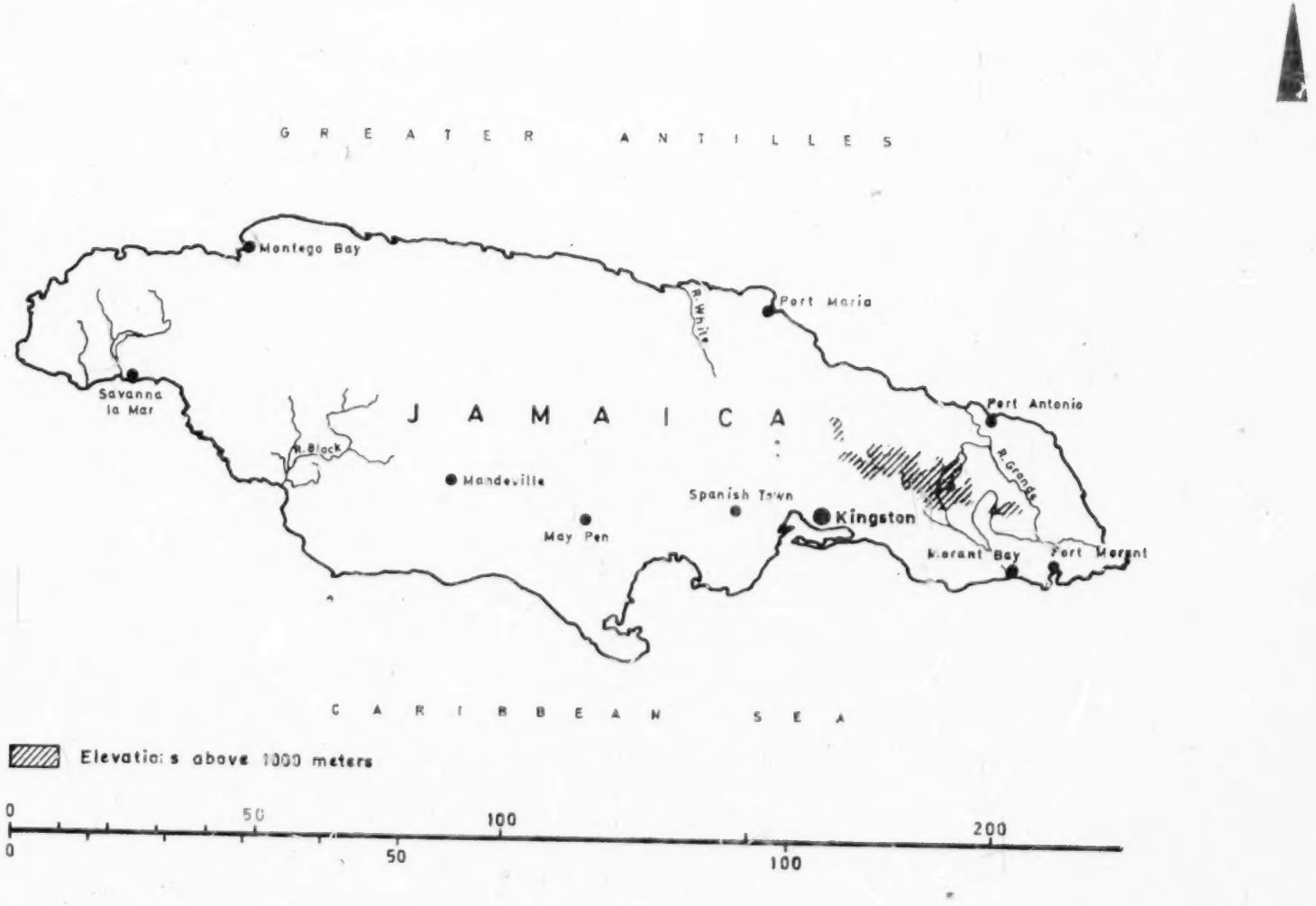

INTERNATIONAL URBANIZATION SURVEY ——— URBANIZATION IN JAMAICA

INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is a common phenomenon in the Caribbean just as it is elsewhere in the world. Despite their wide geographical dispersion and cultural diversity, most islands and territories of the Caribbean are now typified by abandonment of rural areas and agricultural occupations for residence and employment in urban centers.[1] Particularly in the West Indies, the effect of urbanization is evident in the impoverished conditions of rural villages, in the steady decline of secondary towns, and in the sprawling slums of the capital cities. Disparities between incomes of rural and urban areas increase; unemployment, already ranging from 15-20 per cent in many Caribbean cities is steadily rising. Increasing numbers of young people now find themselves without jobs or prospects of jobs. The doors to emigration are closing tighter.

The economies of many Caribbean islands are characterized by growth without increased employment. Although tourism generally expanded during the 1960's, it has not generated a multiplier effect on the labor force because so much of the basic equipment and supplies for the tourist industry continue to be imported rather than produced locally. The few extra jobs gained in the capital-intensive mineral industries and in the expanding

manufacturing sector are more than offset by losses in the faltering sugar and banana industries. Most sugar and banana workers are over 50 years old. Fewer and fewer of the young see viable opportunities in the rural areas, and on leaving school they seek their chances in the urban economy. But their movement into the urban area has outstripped the capacity of the urban economy to provide adequately for them. Cities in the Caribbean generally have few financial resources, few living facilities, and few remunerative jobs to offer them. Untrained for new openings in the labor market by inadequate primary schooling and outmoded secondary education, the choice for many is either to emigrate or to simply remain among the "educated unemployed."

Thus the scattered islands of the Caribbean, already handicapped by imbalances of physical and human resources, are now being put to further disadvantage by unanticipated problems of rapid urbanization.

URBANIZATION OF JAMAICA

Jamaica graphically displays many of the problems of rapid urbanization now occurring in the Caribbean. Although only 3.7 per cent of the island's area (it is only slightly larger than Puerto Rico) was classified "urban" in 1970, the proportion of its nearly two million population class-

ified as "urban" (defined as places with 2,000 or more) rose from 30 per cent in 1960 to 37 per cent in 1970, and is projected to be more than 60 per cent by 1990. The 1970 census indicates that Jamaica's population grew by only 1.5 per cent per year since 1960, while the Caribbean average is 2.2 per cent. This is due to a thirty-three per thousand decline in natality, attributable in part to the increasing effectiveness of family planning services (the National Family Planning Board has over 150 clinics on the island, with the goal of reducing the birth rate to twenty-five per thousand by 1976), and in part to the annual emigration of about 20,000 Jamaicans (mostly to North America) of whom a large proportion are reproductive-age women. Nevertheless, the rate of urban growth is nearly 4 per cent per year, and the density of Jamaica's population rose to 430 per square mile, typical of the high densities throughout the Caribbean (El Salvador, Haiti and Barbados have considerably higher rates). More significantly, 82 per cent of Jamaica's population growth from 1960 to 1970 was registered in the island's urban areas.

Jamaica's present population is youthful (45 per cent under fifteen years), literate (about 85 per cent), and increasingly metropolitan. The capital city of Kingston and its surrounding metropolitan area in the

parish of St. Andrew contained 13 per cent of the population in 1860 and 23 per cent in 1960. It presently contains 27 per cent (or about 510,000 people), and in another twenty years the Kingston metropolitan area is likely to hold nearly 50 per cent of all Jamaicans living on the island.

Kingston's dominance is best illustrated by the fact that over 90 per cent of Jamaica's "urban" population is located in Kingston-St. Andrew, while the other 10 per cent is dispersed among 1,150 towns scattered throughout the island. This heavy concentration in Kingston is comparable to other capitals in the region, notably Port-au-Prince, Mexico City, Guatemala City, and Panama City. The population of Kingston-St. Andrew in 1970 was 12 times larger than the 42,000 people living in Montego Bay, the island's second largest urban center. Projections of Jamaica's population in 1990 show increases principally in urban areas, mostly by people of comparatively low skill levels settling around Kingston, which by that time will likely contain 45 per cent of the labor force.

Late in recognizing the extensive implications of its rapid urbanization, Jamaica is now straining to accomodate its urban people. Although the government has made a smooth transition from crown colony status to internal self-government, many public programs have been

hampered by short-range planning and inefficient administration. The island has developed a fairly stable economy, but the leading three industries--bauxite, tourism, and sugar--are to some extent foreign controlled and externally oriented. The major share of profits from bauxite, Jamaica's primary money earner, leaves the island in the form of remittances to North America aluminum corporations (Kaiser, Reynolds, Alcoa, Alcan). The entire industry employs only 6,500 Jamaicans.

In the nine years since independence, Jamaica has made significant economic progress, maintaining one of the highest rates of economic growth in the region. It has also been conspicuous for political stability and outward manifestations of democratic procedures. Nonetheless, most analysts recognize that the majority of Jamaicans continue to be excluded from the mainstream of the country's recent progress. There is poverty concentrated in downtown Kingston and in the backyards of provincial towns, and it is scattered through the hills. The widening disparities are especially glaring in Kingston-St. Andrew. But in the view of one West Indian economist, "the problems of Jamaica are not unique; the economy is displaying growth strains which have characterized many countries at a similar state of development...strain in the labor market with growing unemployment combined with an increasing

shortage of people qualified to fill the needs of a developing economy...new comers in the labor force who are neither trained nor attuned to the needs of a modern economy, while their work aspirations usually exceed their capabilities..."[2] Another Jamaican critic recently commented: "The progress has been more apparent than real; the cost of living has been increasing at an astronomical rate (by 10 per cent in 1970); the scourge of unemployment, which has plagued the economy since the 1950's and has been estimated in the neighborhood of 20 per cent of the labor force, has shown no signs of abatement in spite of industrialization and emigration which supposedly should have solved the problem."[3]

Unlike some newly-independent nations, Jamaica's growth is not seriously hampered by deep rooted social, racial, and religious divisions. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that social development has lagged behind economic advances. It can be observed in the decline of rural areas and towns and in the disintegration over the past twenty-five years of Kingston, Montego Bay, and Port Antonio. It has been further demonstrated by strained labor relations and by racial tensions wherever lines of economic class and privilege have been seen to coincide with racial distinctions.

URBANIZATION OF KINGSTON

It has been said that Kingston grew out of a disaster. The inland city of Spanish Town had been the capital from 1534 through the English conquest and much of the colonial period. But during the 17th century, Port Royal became a major commercial center in the Caribbean due to its strategic location at the entrance to Kingston harbor, one of the world's finest natural harbors. Port Royal was the haven for numerous pirates and was known as the wickedest city of its time. However, its pre-eminence was suddenly terminated in 1692, when an earthquake slid two-thirds of the bustling town into the sea!

The survivors of Port Royal moved across the harbor to a small village and began trading from there. Later an army engineer laid out what became Kingston's initial boundaries of East Street, North Street and West Street, and proceeded to divide the internal area by narrow streets and narrower lanes that cut across each other at right angles. The major impetus for urban growth then gradually shifted to Kingston as it became a trade center for Spanish America with re-exportation its primary function. For at least a century its main assets were docks, warehouses, and slave quarters. Its industries were those of a sea-port specializing in saddlery, printing, shipbuilding and stocking.

Kingston became the capital of Jamaica in 1870. Since then, commercial activities of the city have expanded as manufacturing gravitated to its port facilities, its growing labor force, and its supporting services as the center of government. By 1960 Kingston contained over half the island's factories and industrial acreage. Its 375,000 people established it as the largest city in the English-speaking Caribbean. But throughout its historical evolution from 1692 to the late 1950's, there was no planned development; its growth was largely at the mercy of colonial laissez-faire.[4]

The expansion of Kingston-St. Andrew (over 500,000 people in nineteen square miles by 1970) is attributable to internal migration from the rural parishes (counties), which averaged around 1,000 per year in the 1880's and over 5,000 per year during the past twenty years. The widening gaps between rural and urban areas in wages and perceived employment opportunities have caused much of the migration. Nearly half of the migrants are young (fifteen to twenty-nine years old), and a high proportion are now females in search of employment as domestics.[5] In 1960 some 38 per cent of the labor force was engaged in agriculture and fishing and 25 per cent in services; by 1980 those figures are likely to be reversed.

In general, the migrants arrive in Kingston with

low levels of education and technical skills. Downtown Kingston has therefore served to some extent as a dumping ground for the poorly educated and unemployed. This is borne out in the analysis of 1960 census data of island-wide migration patterns by one Jamaican sociologist, who concluded that the Kingston metropolitan area, although attracting by far the largest number of migrants, was less selective than rural parishes. Moreover, even the most urbanized of the rural parishes, while attracting more migrants than the others, showed less migration selectivity than the more rural parishes. The migration to Kingston and other urban areas was more the result of a push from the overcrowded, overworked land of the rural parishes rather than from a strong pull exerted by unfilled jobs and other unexploited economic opportunities in the cities. Higher unemployment could be found in the urban areas than in the rural ones. Internal migration in Jamaica was therefore resulting more from push than from pull.[6]

URBAN CONDITIONS IN KINGSTON

Kingston now displays symptoms of physical deterioration and social disorganization. Downtown Kingston once was the principal focus of commerce, government, and urban community life. But it has been disintegrating under the dual effects of rapid urban growth and administrative

neglect. In recent years concentric zones of poor, good, and luxurious housing have progressively succeeded each other in a northerly direction away from the harbor-front area. In a remarkable reversal of residential location over the past thirty years, the wealthy now commute from spacious homes on the hills overlooking the city, and the poor live in the lower parts of Kingston that were fashionable not long ago. As middle- and upper-class residents moved up and out into St. Andrew, new business investments also moved north to New Kingston, and commerce branched out to form suburban shopping centers in once rural junctions. In their wake, the migrants crowded into the older housing downtown, entire sections of which began to decline into dilapidated conditions.[7] The result, as one Jamaican architect has put it, is that "the city of Kingston today is in no way a beautiful city, nor does it possess the merit of efficiency. In the downtown area movement is choked, commerce is fading, the visual image is one of chaos, and culture has fled. The blight of slums and obsolescence rings the city core..."[8]

Another impression given by Kingston is that of unplanned, incoherent sprawl along radial roads leading away from the downtown waterfront area. Rampant growth toward the hills has reversed the city's former orientation toward the harbor. Kingston no longer has a focal center either

visually, socially, or culturally. If residents and visitors were surveyed on what they considered to be the central place or dominating point or perspective of Kingston, it is likely that no single focus would emerge. A consulting team of British urban planners concluded several years ago:

> The grid-iron plan of the area, with the main street system running north-south down the gentle slope of the Liguanea Plain into the sea, does not result in an easily-readable and articulated series of streets and spaces as a map of Kingston would lead one to expect. The impression gained is one of disorder, resulting from an intense variety of land uses and activities, and the dense grain of buildings in an environment which is hot, dry, dusty, and crowded with people, vehicles, carts and noise. The buildings, which are seldom over four storeys high, appear as an anonymous backdrop and few give any outward appearance of careful maintenance. The visual chaos is made more acute by the numerous advertising signs, telephone wires and power lines which are strung around the buildings and spaces. There is, however, an abundance of natural vegetation, but there has been little attempt to consciously landscape the spaces about the buildings and streets to provide a pleasant and beneficial environment in which to walk and sit and to create a stronger sense of identity.[9]

URBAN PLANNING IN JAMAICA

In Jamaica, urban development did not receive any concerted attention from the government until the late 1950's. There had been occasional efforts at housing improvements in Kingston, particularly following the earthquake and fire of 1907, and the hurricane in 1951. The government's

designation of an urban planner in 1947, and of a Department of Urban Planning in 1950, was limited to short-range housing projects. There was no attempt at longer-range physical planning and control of urban development until the first Law of Urban and Rural Planning was passed in 1958, and a ten-year projection of physical planning needs was undertaken in preparation for an expanding tourist industry.

In 1960 the Department of Urban Planning prepared the first land-use maps of Kingston. The potential congestion of the city's traffic movements were noted, but no actions were taken. The lack of sufficient recreational areas in many parts of Kingston was observed but not remedied. The problem of flooding in the downtown areas was assessed, and wide water conduits snaking down from the hills through the city were constructed at considerable financial and estnetic expense. Most attention was given to mapping housing problems in Kingston, where it was estimated that one-fourth of the population lived in slum dwellings. In subsequent years various housing schemes were proposed to alleviate the deplorable conditions of high density sections of the city, especially in West Kingston. Several of these schemes were inadequate in organization, financing, and administration. They were also insufficient in basic urban infrastructure and lacked space for community facilities. They did not combine

physical with social planning, nor were they considered in the context of regional planning.

What these housing projects illustrated was that population growth and urban expansion of Kingston-St. Andrew was speeding ahead of the government's response in supplying adequate housing and related urban services. What was needed on the one hand was a national population policy to tighten immigration laws and provide family planning services, and on the other hand a comprehensive rural-urban regional plan to begin to meet the problems of irrational urban sprawl. Physical planning for the whole island would have to be introduced and somehow harmonized with other government departments--economic, social, and educational affairs also required improved planning and internal coordination.[10]

By 1967 the local press began to voice protests from its leading columnists and a small group of architects to the effect that measures must be taken to restore confidence that the country's capital city was not being neglected. Comprehensive, long-term planning was obviously needed, and needed immediately, to improve the quality of the city's roads, parks, parkways, public buildings and places--its whole urban environment.

Attention was also drawn to threats to Jamaica's highly valuable yet generally underutilized natural re-

source--its environmental beauty. Several enchanting landscapes in central portions of the island have already been damaged by bauxite open-pit mining, and other scenic places to the east of Kingston permanently scarred by stone quarrying and mining for gypsum. Sewage regularly flowing into Kingston harbor, at the present rate of over twelve million gallons per day, has effected the natural ecology and water circulation of the harbor, threatening its commercial and recreational usefulness. Uncontrolled cutting of trees has harmed the ecology and natural beauty of some of the island's innumerable scenic landscapes. There is widespread littering of roads, walkways, and public places.

Nevertheless, a few starts have been made by the government to prevent further pollution of the island's natural resources. A Clean Air Bill was passed in 1965, but it needs more teeth in its enforcement if industrial haze over Kingston is to be abated. A Pesticides Act was put through in 1969, and a Beach Control Authority was set up to control against further marine pollution. Nevertheless, with urbanization, industrialization, and tourism imposing more of a burden on the Jamaican environment than in the past, the country must alert itself to the ecological consequences of its negligence, if it is to avoid the environmental misuses already experienced by the more developed countries.

By 1967, the government's Ministry of Finance and Planning was well aware of these problems. Noting the recommendations of the team of British planners supplied by Britain's ODM, the Ministry announced an ambitious plan to shift Kingston's shipping and storage installations from the antiquated downtown wharves to an underutilized shoreline to the west, and to thereafter renovate some 150 acres of downtown shorefront property. Within the next two years the swamplands on the western edge of the waterfront were reclaimed for industrial sites (now Newport East) and the adjacent shoreline was reshaped for modern wharves (Newport West) and for easy accessibility to the metropolitan area and to main roads leading to the rest of the island. The unused lowland delta further to the west was projected for future transformation into a new residential town of Portmore to absorb the expected expansion of Kingston's population in the 1970's and 1980's. Beyond Portmore, further around the shoreline to the west, the uninhabited hillsides of Hellshire were slated for future development as a focal center for attracting tourists to Jamaica's south shore.

The plan to revitalize the Kingston waterfront was the first planning scheme for Kingston undertaken since the city was crudely laid out in the early 18th century. The waterfront had become shoddy, no longer practical for commercial purposes, and an eyesore for tourists and

residents alike. Nevertheless, as Kingston's traditional front door, the waterfront area might once again be attractive if it could be rebuilt and revitalized. The government therefore urged the establishment of the Urban Development Corporation in 1968 as a private statuatory body, to act as a financial tool in developing urban land and infrastructure. With funding from the Jamaica Development Bank, U.K.'s Ministry of Overseas Development, the Commonwealth Development Corporation, and local private investors, the UDC was designed to be able to reclaim Newport East and Newport West, expropriate the downtown waterfront properties, tear down the obsolete docking facilities and outmoded buildings, and finance reconstruction. Office buildings, apartment towers, waterfront parkways, hotels, banks, and other commercial facilities would be built. Thus, over a period of years, the downtown area might be renovated for its role as the nation's capital.[11]

Assistance in physical planning for these projects was provided by the United Nations through a five-year Special Fund Project beginning in 1966. Under this $500,000 project, a team of UN specialists, complemented by Jamaican "counterparts," formed a physical planning unit lodged in the Town Planning Department of the Ministry of Finance and Planning. The major objective of the pro-

ject was to prepare a national physical plan, including projected land-use strategy, with areas designated for industry, housing, tourism, recreation, and conservation.

Physical planning activities had been legally established in Jamaica's Town and Country Planning Unit since 1957. But the authority for planning has been divided between: (a) the parish councils operating under the Local Improvements Law administered by the Ministry of Local Government, (b) the Ministry of Finance and Planning, (c) the Ministry of Housing and Utilities, (d) the Land Development and Utilization Commission (which in 1969 divided the island into thirteen Regional Land Authorities in order to decentralize the administration of agricultural and industrial land development), and (e) the central government through the office of the Government Town Planner, which has been responsible for issuing "development orders" and local building permits.

The UN Town Planning Project constituted the first attempt at a national plan for physical planning with clarification of goals for local, regional, and national development. The team justified the need for this on these grounds: (a) the rapid growth of the island's population; (b) the increasing concentration of the population in urban areas, thus requiring a higher level

of public services and a higher degree of coordination in their palnning and execution; (c) the increasing competition for land usage; and (d) the increasing exploitation of the island's natural resources. These points were considered consistent with Jamaica's major goals for development, which had been identified by the Central Planning Unit of the Ministry of Finance and Development as: (a) higher levels of living, especailly for low-income groups; (b) more equitable distribution of incomes; (c) greater harmony and responsibility of the people; (d) conservation and development of national physical assets; and (e) continued political development and preservation of democratic government. The same points were included in the Central Planning Unit's proposals for 1970-75, which make reference to the need for land-use planning and for the development of a skilled urban labor force and an adequate array of urban facilities, particulraly in Kingston.

In projecting Jamaica's regional planning needs, the UN team worked on the basis of the following assumptions: (a) that many Jamaicans would prefer to stay in rural areas if employment opportunities and community facilities were comparatively the same; (b) that internal migration would continue at current rates but would decline gradually if regional physical planning recommendations were implemented; (c) that the key to controlling internal

migration would therefore be found in the location of new jobs and physical facilities; and (d) that it would be more feasible to upgrade existing towns than to build new ones. The team then proceeded to examine the economic growth potentials of Kingston and 215 of Jamaica's 1,150 towns with a view to alternative areas of expansion suggested by forecasts of development trends.

A national urban policy was subsequently proposed, comprised of these essential objectives: (a) relief of population pressure and urban growth problems of the Kingston metropolitan area, (b) provision of wider chioces of urban living environments, (c) provision of urban facilities of better quality, (d) development of alternate employment opportunities outside Kingston, (e) encouragement of integrated regional development, and (f) guidance in the rational use of public and private funds for urban development. These objectives were incorporated in the Town Planning Unit's "National Physical Plan for Jamaica, 1970-1990" submitted to the Ministry of Finance and Planning in late 1971 at the conclusion of the UN Special Project. The comprehensive report dealt with the scope, needs, and goals for national physical planning in terms of agriculture, mining, tourism, manufacturing, population distribution, urban structure and policy, housing and utilities, social facilities, parks and

recreation, conservation and environmental quality, transportation, and national land-use strategies. The report was accompanied by a national atlas prepared by UN urban geographers and supporting technical studies related to the unit's work on physical dimensions of the Kingston waterfront, Portmore, Hellshire, and the Kingston-Spanish Town-Old Harbor continuum.

PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION

As recommendations for national physical planning are prepared, the chronic problem of implementation comes into view. As in so many countries, the ability to plan exceeds the administrative ability to deliver on announced proposals. Part of the problem is structural. The Jamaican government has a large number of ministries--often in competition with each other--each sharing part of the action but each often going its own way. Within the organization of the Ministry of Finance and Planning there has been a division of urban affairs between the offices of Central Planning, Central Statistics, Town and Rural Planning, and the Urban Development Corporation. Each is located in separate facilities; each is short-handed in professional staff; and each needs the support of the other in basic data and analysis. There is no central repository of data bearing on urban development. There is a natural

tendency to guard information and not to disclose intended lines of action.

A second constraint on the implementation of planning proposals is the fact that urban properties have not been revalued for some years. This has perpetuated some long-term injustices in taxation and denied the government public funds for purposes of urban renewal. According to a recent editorial in the nation's main newspaper, "not only does this impair revenue for work of improvements but it also victimizes some of the poorer people whose rates are proportionately higher than the rates now being paid by expensive property in the middle of the city. Revaluation should have been undertaken years ago either at the unimproved level or the improved level; failure to do this has led to injustice between taxpayers, and to starving the city administration of revenue."[12]

A third constraint has been the lack of coordinated management for the Kingston metropolitan area. Without a city manager with legislative authority and financial means to manage and develop the Kingston area, the affairs of the capital city have been tied up in a struggle between the Kingston-St. Andrew Corporation (KSAC), which has been under the political control of the opposition People's National Party, and the Ministry of Local Government, which has been controlled by the incumbent

Jamaica Labour Party. The KSAC must rely on the Ministry of Local Government for its financing as one of the parishes applying through the Council of Parish Councils. During the recent period of Kingston's most intense population, commercial, and industrial expansion, the KSAC has been under-staffed and underfinanced. As The Gleaner, recently editorialized:

> A brand new attitude needs to come of the Cabinet in dealing with municipal administration. The idea of having a city of this size and importance dangling on a string, waiting to be told how much money it can get as a grant, is no way to run a city. Long-term planning cannot be done for efficient improvement. We pointed out last year that the city needed J$ 1,860,860 per annum more than it was getting if it was to be put back just in the position it was in 30 years ago. In 1939 the city spent the equivalent of J$ 16 per head of the then population compared with only J$ 13.55 per head in 1970...A new look and a new determination will have to go into municipal politics to force the central government to save this city from becoming a total slum.[13]

Mismanagement and procrastination in providing adequate funding have taken a heavy toll on the operation of public services in Jamaica during the last few years. Overloaded by demand, undermanned and outmoded in equipment, the urban services of Kingston-St. Andrew have broken down frequently since 1969, and are presently in a critical state. Strikes have disrupted bus and rail service, telephones, and electric power supply; "go-slows" have crippled regular police, fire, health and sanitary services. Most disturbing have been the frequent mechanical

breakdowns of the light and power company due to chronic lack of maintenance and inability to keep pace with the expanding needs of metropolitan Kingston. Similarly, the telephone company took on a greater challenge in trying to renovate its installations and keep up with expansion than its financing has allowed. The water authority, backed up by the Geological Survey Department and a UNDP/FAO Water Resources Project and helped by an average seventy-seven inches of rainfall per year, has managed to meet increasing demands and occasional drought quite satisfactorily. But public sanitation has been at a low level, partly due to the limited extent of sewerage in the urban areas and partly to the lack of public cooperation in garbage collection.

Public transportation throughout the island is aided by a basic infrastructure of 7,000 miles of roadway, albeit of varying quality, which amount to 1.6 miles of road per square mile of land. This is quite high compared to other developing countries, but the surfaces of many roads are deteriorating and very dangerous. Most were not constructed to accomodate the number and speed of today's cars. Jamaicans therefore suffer a high accident rate, around one fatality per year per 270 vehicles, which is ten times higher than in the United States.

URBAN RESEARCH AND TRAINING NEEDS

Problems in the implementation of urban development plans in Jamaica can be traced to shortcomings of financing, organization, and staffing of trained researchers and administrators. Deficiencies of financing, however, are now being overcome by the efforts of the Urban Development Corporation and the Jamaica Industrial Development Corporation, as well as by the investments of the World Bank, the Commonwealth Development Corporation, and local financial groups such as Pan-Jamaican Investment Trust Limited, which recently announced a US$ 11 million investment in the Kingston waterfront redevelopment scheme. The inadequacies of organization and management have yet to be tackled head-on, but the desirability of setting up a national planning mechanism to collect and analyze information and to guide both public and private investments in urban development is now recognized. Certain common functions of central planning, town planning, land development, statistics, and urban financing might thus be brought into closer collaboration.

Present shortcomings in administration clearly suggest the need for specially-tailored training programs for urban planners, administrators, and technicians. The high turnover of staff, the exodus of many skilled

Jamaicans (formerly to Britain and now to North America), and the lack of professional training among those remaining has been a major handicap to all government departments and private agencies.

The need in Jamaica and elsewhere in the Caribbean for qualified personnel in urban planning and administration was first brought to the attention of local governments by a Conference on Town and Country Development Planning held in 1956 by the old Caribbean Commission. The Conference called for basic training of planning technicians and urged the creation of a center for post-graduate training in planning within the area, preferably at the main campus of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica. Eight years later a United Nations team suggested that education in the region for architects and planners was required, and in 1966 a survey by a Canadian consultant found support for establishing a regional university program in architecture and planning. However, this proposal has never received a high priority among those competing for the limited funds available for new developments.

The virtual nonexistence of urban economists, sociologists and administrators, as well as physical planners, has been acutely felt in Jamaica by the Central Planning Unit, the Urban Development Corporation, the parish councils such as the KSAC, and the various Minist-

ries. With neither architecture nor urban planning offered by the University of the West Indies, the few Jamaicans attracted to this field have continued to take their advanced training in the UK or the United States. Very few have found sufficient incentive to return to positions with planning departments in Kingston as they are presently organized. Only in the secondary level of training draftsmen and other technicians has there been high prospect that technical institutes now established in Kingston, Port-of-Spain (Trinidad), and Castries (St. Lucia) will be able to meet the expected demand over the next few years.

The University of the West Indies, with its principal campus at Mona on the eastern edge of Kingston, has recently recognized the Jamaican government's mounting concern with problems of urbanization. But although increasingly strong in the social sciences, especially economics, the UWI has been slow to respond to the need for research and training in urban studies. This has been partly attributable to the financial freeze placed on new program developments over the past three years by the region's governments which fund the University. Secondly, it has been attributable to the preoccupation of UWI staff with other research problems. Thirdly, there has been some attrition of UWI staff with urban interests to university appointments in Britain and the United States. Never-

theless, over the past few years various departments of the UWI have shown an increasing interest in urban matters. In particular, the UWI Institute of Social and Economic Research, the principal social science research institute in the Caribbean, has indicated its intention to move more aggressively into urban research. It plans to encourage appointments of urban scholars to the University's Faculty of Social Sciences and possibly hold regional seminars for administrators of planning agencies and urban development corporations now being established on many West Indian islands.

CONCLUSION

After a prolonged period of unplanned expansion and administrative neglect, Kingston is now suffering the social and physical consequences of unattended urbanization. Increasingly Kingston's problems in coping with its rapid urban growth are a deterrent to Jamaica's social and economic advancement, and this calls for greater efforts in organization, research, and training. It suggests that urbanization and its concomitant problems need major attention; this in turn may indicate that an urban planning organization with comprehensive authority for metropolitan and regional planning and development might well be established. Within this organization a

reference library and data center on urban affairs might be started to service all public and private organizations concerned with urban research, planning and administration. Results of research on problems of employment, administration, and social organization in urban areas might then be fed to the national planning organization for policy determination and reference at the urban data center. It also suggests that research and training capabilities at the University of the West Indies need to be further strengthened to effectively collaborate with the recommended metropolitan planning agency and with existing organizations such as the Urban Development Corporation. Intensive, in-service training programs in urban economics and administration might be organized for university graduates who now hold responsible positions with Jamaican organizations but have received no formal training in urban planning and administration. In addition, internships with Jamaican urban planning agencies might be provided through new fellowship schemes for recent university graduates before and after degree training abroad.

FOOTNOTES

(1) An exception is contemporary Cuba, where decentralization and reduction of rural-urban disparities through attention to development of rural areas has been an explicit policy of the Castro Government.

(2) George Doxey, "A Survey of the Jamaican Economy," Jamaican Chamber of Commerce, July 1969.

(3) Elton Williams, "Jamaica's Development Strategy," Public Opinion, June 4, 1971.

(4) For further details of Kingston's history, see: H.P. Jacobs, "An Historical Analysis of City Centre Movements," Jamaica Architect, Vol. 1-3, 1968.

(5) For further analysis of Jamaica's internal migration patterns, see: K. Takse, "Internal Migration in Jamaica," Department of Statistics, Government of Jamaica, April 1967; G.W. Roberts, "Demographic Aspects of Rural Development," Social and Economic Studies, ISER, Vol. 18-2, June 1969.

(6) G. Edward Ebanks, "Differential Internal Migration in Jamaica, 1943-60," Social and Economic Studies, ISER, Vol. 17-2, June 1968.

(7) It has been estimated from 1960 census data that 45 per cent of all Jamaican household units consist of a single room. Disparities in housing conditions have been acutely visible in Kingston and in towns along the northern shore of the island.

(8) Riley Brooke, "Planning Problems of Downtown Kingston," Jamaica Architect, Vol. 1-3, 1968.

(9) Shankland, Cox and Associates, "Jamaica: Kingston Waterfront Development," October 1967.

(10) For further details on the evolution of urban planning in Jamaica, see Colin G. Clark, "Problemas de Planeacion Urbana en Kingston, Jamaica; La Geografia y los Problemas de Poblacion Urbana en Kingston, Jamaica," La Geografia

y los Problemas de Poblacion, Mexico 1966.

(11) See Tony Gambrill, "Planning and the City Centre of the 1970's," Jamaica Architect, Vol. 1-1, 1967; and Edward Seaga, "Greater Kingston, Description and Commentary," Jamaica Architect, Vol. 1-3, 1967.

(12) Editorial, The Gleaner, June 11, 1971.

(13) Ibid., June 12, 1971.